

Norman Seals and Migrations to Byzantium in the Eleventh Century

GUILHEM DORANDEU

In the eleventh century, the Byzantine Empire was faced with military difficulties that obliged it to recruit large contingents of foreign soldiers.¹ Such men were of diverse origins and took on widely different functions. However, attracted by opportunities for enrichment, social advancement, or the possibility of fleeing delicate situations at home, the most powerful of these could aspire to enter the Byzantine aristocracy through service or matrimonial alliances.² These men were often awarded titles and positions, in addition to their *roga*.³ Historians have been quick to note that the Byzantine written sources indiscriminately qualified most of these Western mercenaries as *Franks*. In fact, the people thus designated and who can be precisely identified came from various territories of the West. Although some came from England, the Germanic

area, Scandinavia, and Hungary,⁴ the most prominent contingent came from the medieval Norman worlds, particularly southern Italy and Sicily.⁵ This phenomenon is hardly surprising: it is rooted in a movement of intense human and material circulation between the English Channel, Italy, and the Byzantine Empire, well

1 H. Glykatzis-Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur l'administration de l'Empire byzantin aux IX^e–XI^e siècles," *BCH* 84.1 (1960): 1–111, at 33–35; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204: A Political History* (London, 1997), 35–55, 149–51; J. Haldon, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204* (London, 1999), 119–20.

2 J.-C. Cheynet, "Du prénom au patronyme: Les étrangers à Byzance (X^e–XII^e siècles)," in *La société byzantine: L'apport des sceaux*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2008), 133–44, at 133–34.

3 P. Lemerle, "'Roga' et rente d'État aux X^e–XI^e siècles," *REB* 25 (1967): 77–100. For general studies of titles and dignities, see R. Guilland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines* (Berlin, 1967); N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IX^e et X^e siècles* (Paris, 1972), 21–27.

4 W. Seibt, "Europäische Aristokraten auf byzantinischer Karriereleiter: Ein sigillographischer Beitrag zur Prosopographie des 11. Jahrhunderts," in *Byzanz in Europa: Europas östliches Erbe*, ed. M. Altripp (Turnhout, 2011), 82–96; J.-C. Cheynet and A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt, "Adelige aus dem 'Westen' in Staatsapparat und Gesellschaft des byzantinischen Reiches: Das Vermächtnis der Siegel," in *Menschen, Bilder, Sprache, Dinge: Wege der Kommunikation zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen*, vol. 2, *Menschen und Worte*, ed. F. Daim et al. (Mainz, 2018), 205–23.

5 This overrepresentation has already been noted in R. Janin, "Les Francs au service des 'Byzantins,'" *EO* 157 (1930): 61–72. This article has since been supplemented by D. M. Nicol, "Symbiosis and Integration: Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th Centuries," *ByzF* 7 (1979): 113–35; J. Shepard, "The Uses of the Franks in Eleventh-Century Byzantium," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 15 (1993): 275–305; J.-C. Cheynet, "Le rôle des Occidentaux dans l'armée byzantine avant la Première Croisade," in *Byzanz und das Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. E. Konstantinou (Cologne, 1997), 111–28; J.-C. Cheynet, "L'implantation des Latins en Asie mineure avant la Première Croisade," in *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^e–XVII^e siècles)*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris, 2002), 115–24; G. Theotokis, "Rus, Varangian and Frankish Mercenaries in the Service of the Byzantine Emperors (9th–11th C.): Numbers, Organisation and Battle Tactics in the Operational Theatres of Asia Minor and the Balkans," *Byzantina Symmeikta* 22 (2012): 125–56.

attested in the very early years of the eleventh century.⁶ It is in a close analysis of this circulating material culture that we can find additional clues to the identifications, circumstances, and ambitions of these men.

The most important of these individuals used lead seals for administrative purposes. At first glance, their sigillographic production appears difficult to distinguish from the mass of other seals issued at the same time in the Byzantine world. In fact, the seals of the so-called Franks within the empire can only be identified because of a small number of discriminating criteria, none of which are necessarily associated with one another. These criteria are based on anthroponymy (hellenization of Latin names), the lexicon (use of ethnic qualifiers evoking a Western origin), and iconography (images that are rare in Byzantine sigillography). The study of these elements, which Gustave Schlumberger already highlighted in the nineteenth century,⁷ has allowed me to isolate a group of fifty-four seals attributable to thirty-one Franks serving in the Eastern Empire. With the exception of a seal bearing a Latin legend dating to 1135–1177, the context of which is unclear,⁸ all of these lead seals can be dated to the second half of the eleventh century and carry wholly Greek legends. Among all the Franks active in Byzantium, the analysis of this material confirms the predominance of the Normans,⁹ many of whom came from southern Italy, which they were in the process of conquering. Indeed,

we can affirm that forty-six of the seals examined, that is to say, 85 percent of the total Frankish production, in fact, belonged to them (Appendix, 1–46).

The importance and precocity of this sigillographic production contrasts with the contemporary Norman output outside the Byzantine world. In fact, the only layman in the Anglo-Norman world to use seals between 1050 and 1075 was the king of England and duke of Normandy, William the Conqueror.¹⁰ During the same chronological interval, the only identifiable Norman sealers in southern Italy were Princes Richard and Jordan I of Capua, Counts Gerard of Ariano and Peter II of Trani, and Robert Guiscard, then duke of Apulia.¹¹ Clearly, integration into the Byzantine social world permitted a large number of Normans, of highly heterogeneous social status, to begin issuing seals at a time when such a usage was in effect still reserved in the West for the highest members of the aristocracy, whether it be secular or ecclesiastical. As a result, this material gives us new insight into eleventh-century Norman culture,¹² including at social levels we wouldn't have known otherwise.

By exploiting this source, for the first time comprehensively compiled, the present work attempts to offer a new examination of Norman migrations to Byzantium during the eleventh century, complementary to studies based on well-known written documents. Such an

6 L. Musset, "Recherches sur les pèlerins et les pèlerinages en Normandie jusqu'à la Première Croisade," *Annales de Normandie* 12.3 (1962): 127–50; C. Morrisson, "Anglo-Byzantina: Monnaies et sceaux outre-Manche (IX^e–XIII^e siècle)," *TM* 21.1 (2017): 471–86.

7 G. Schlumberger, "Deux chefs normands des armées byzantines au XI^e siècle: Sceaux de Hervé et de Roussel de Bailleul," *RH* 16.2 (1881): 289–303.

8 Seals of Alexander, count of Gravina, studied in E. V. Stepanova, "Obrazy vostochnohristianskih svjatyh na pečatjah Italii XI–XIII vekov," in *Piligrimy: Istoriko-kulturnaja rol' palomnichestva; Sbornik nauchnyh trudov* (St. Petersburg, 2001), 60–69, at 65–67; V. Prigent, "Notes sur la tradition sigillographique byzantine dans le royaume normand de Sicile," in *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIII^e–XII^e siècle)*, vol. 2, *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques*, ed. J.-M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot, and V. Prigent (Rome, 2012), 605–41, at 633–39. It is not known where the *boulloterion* used to produce Alexander's seals was engraved, but it was probably made in Italy before the sealer was exiled to the Byzantine world.

9 This generic term is used in historiography to designate groups of individuals originating from Normandy, but also, to a lesser extent, from neighboring northern regions such as Brittany, Maine, Anjou, and Picardy: see L.-R. Ménager, "Pesanteur et étologie de

la colonisation normande de l'Italie," in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo* (Rome, 1975), 189–214.

10 On this topic, see D. Bates, ed., *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford, 1998), 102–5; J.-F. Nieus, "Early Aristocratic Seals: An Anglo-Norman Success Story," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 38 (2016): 97–124, at 100–105.

11 A. Engel, *Recherches sur la numismatique et la sigillographie des Normands de Sicile et d'Italie* (Paris, 1882), 82, no. 1 (seal of Robert Guiscard, probably used from 1074), 88, no. 22 (seals of Richard and Jordan I, in use since 1058). No impressions have been preserved for Gerard of Ariano or Peter II of Trani, but the fact that they began issuing seals early can be demonstrated by studying the clauses of corroboration and traces of sealing that appear on two preserved original documents. For Gerard of Ariano, who fixed a seal to a charter dated 1069, see P. Massa, "Prassi giuridica e pratiche di documentazione in carte inedite di Ariano Irpino dell'XI e XII secolo," *Nuovi Annali della Scuola Speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari* 24 (2010): 7–26, at 20–21, no. 2; for Peter II of Trani, who used a lead seal on a document dated 1072, see C. Carlone, L. Morinelli, and G. Vitolo, eds., *Codex diplomaticus cavensis*, vol. 11 (Salerno, 2015), 366–68, no. 125.

12 For a recent analysis of this topic, see L. Reilly, *The Invention of Norman Visual Culture: Art, Politics, and Dynastic Ambition* (Cambridge, 2020).

investigation reveals the identities and the diverse motivations of the newcomers, resulting primarily from circumstantial opportunities for upward social mobility. It also analyzes the discourses of integration or distinction that these individuals developed both with regard to their communities of origin and that of their destination, aiming at expressing an integration into Byzantine society.

Norman Migrants to the Empire: Geographic and Social Mobility

Eleventh-century Byzantine sources generally describe the Normans serving the empire as soldiers, who were particularly appreciated for their equestrian abilities.¹³ Examination of the seals attributable to these individuals confirms this observation. Furthermore, such a study also allows us to distinguish several different profiles within this group of fighters, the contours of which are poorly defined by the texts. Two main groups emerge from this survey: on the one hand, figures who belonged to the Norman elite who conquered southern Italy and who then found themselves either enticed or pushed to leave; and on the other, individuals who benefited from military and political qualities that allowed them to acquire a leading position among the mercenaries of the empire superior to what they could have obtained in the south.

The Younger Generations of the Hauteville Family

We know that the Norman conquest of southern Italy, the main phase of which took place between the third and last decade of the eleventh century, was conducted by a relatively small number of migrant families. The most important of these were the Drengots and above all the Hautevilles, who gradually pushed aside the other great dynasties of conquerors and in doing so succeeded in imposing their hegemony over most of the Mezzogiorno, both on the continent and in Sicily.¹⁴ At the end of the eleventh century, however, the scarcity of Italian territories still to be conquered was insufficient

to satisfy the political ambitions of all the members of these families. Several of them thus chose to leave southern Italy to seize other titles and lands commensurate with their rank: the best known in historiography is Bohemond I, son of Robert Guiscard, who, via the First Crusade, became prince of Antioch in 1098.¹⁵ At least two other Hautevilles of lower renown achieved significant social advancement by throwing in their lot with the Byzantines (Fig. 1).

One of these is an individual named Humbert, who issued two different types of seals, apparently contemporary with one another. This Humbert had a successful career in the empire, since he established himself first as *patrikios*, *strategos*, and *domestikos* (21–22; Fig. 2), then as *vestes* and *strategos* (23–26; Fig. 3). Thanks to their formal characteristics, both types can be dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century; the oldest can be placed shortly after 1060, due to the juxtaposition of the title of *domestikos*, of rather low rank, with the dignity of *patrikios*.¹⁶ These elements make it possible to identify Humbert as the homonymous younger brother of Robert Guiscard who emigrated to Byzantium in the mid-eleventh century and who founded the Humbertopouloi family there.¹⁷ This personage, of whom no possession is known in southern Italy, is therefore one of the few Hauteville siblings not to have permanently settled in the Italian peninsula. Since Humbert joined forces with Constantinople at the very time when the Norman conquerors were fighting against the Byzantine Empire for possession of

13 For a historiographical overview of the subject, see S. Wierzbinski, "Normans and Other Franks in 11th Century Byzantium: The Careers of the Adventurers before the Rule of Alexius I Comnenus," *Studia Ceranea* 4 (2014): 277–88.

14 G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Abingdon, 2000), 234–60.

15 On Bohemond I in Antioch, see T. S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (Woodbridge, UK, 2000); L. Russo, *Boemondo: Figlio del Guiscardo e principe di Antiochia* (Avellino, 2009).

16 Cheynet, "Le rôle des Occidentaux," 122.

17 I disagree with B. Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade: Analyse prosopographique et synthèse* (Louvain, 1980), 68–71, no. 41, who ignores the existence of the two seals and is the only author to doubt that Humbert of Hauteville was the founder of the Humbertopouloi family. Nevertheless, this hypothesis is supported in J. Jurukova, "Les sceaux de Constantin Humbert," in *XIV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, ed. M. Berza and E. Stănescu (Bucharest, 1971), 235–42; W. B. McQueen, "Relations between the Normans and Byzantium 1071–1112," *Byzantion* 56 (1986): 427–76, at 437; Cheynet, "Du prénom au patronyme," 138. The existence of Humbert among the Hauteville siblings is documented by Geoffroi Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius* 1.4.3 (M.-A. Lucas-Avenel, ed., *Histoire du grand comte Roger et de son frère Robert Guiscard*, vol. 1, *Livres I et II* [Caen, 2016], 140–43).

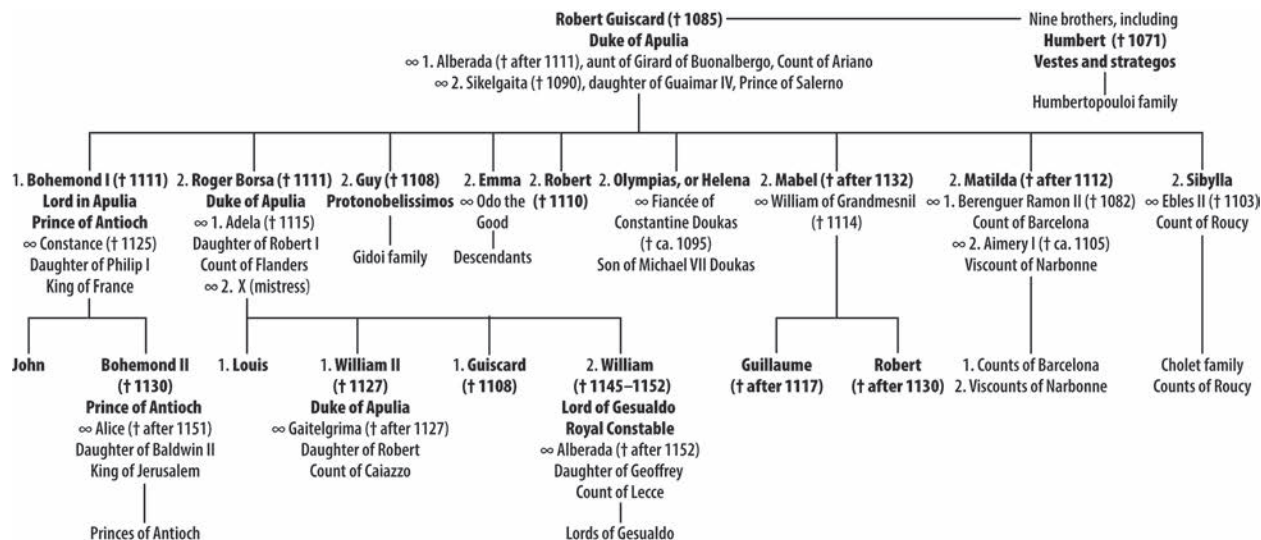


Fig. 1. The family of Robert Guiscard. Diagram by the author.



Fig. 2. Seal of Humbert [of Hauteville], patrikios, strategos, and domestikos [1060–1071] (21). Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Coins and Seals Collection, Washington, DC.



Fig. 3. Seal of Humbert [of Hauteville], vestes and strategos [1060–1071] (23). Courtesy of the Museum of Art and History, City of Geneva; photo by F. Bevilacqua.

the eastern coast of Apulia,¹⁸ the implications of such a move are far-reaching. In all probability, Humbert's career in the Mezzogiorno suffered not only from his late arrival, since he appears nowhere in the local sources, but also from the preeminence that Robert Guiscard sought to bestow upon his brothers who joined him there. In such a highly competitive family context, Humbert's change of allegiance may have represented an opportunity for social ascension within the Byzantine elite. His seals testify to the success of this enterprise, which won him not only titles and dignities, but also a marriage to a Byzantine aristocrat.

Sigillographic sources attest to the presence of another member of the Hauteville family in Byzantium. Dumbarton Oaks in fact preserves a lead seal issued by an individual named Guy, who was endowed with the important dignity of *protonobelissimos* (44; Fig. 4). Dated to the last quarter of the eleventh century, this seal can be attributed to one of the three sons of Robert Guiscard and Princess Sikelgaita of Salerno.¹⁹ This

18 Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, 123–26.

19 J.-C. Cheynet, "L'usage des sceaux à Byzance d'après ceux des Francs au service de l'empire," in *Apposer sa marque: Le sceau et son usage autour de l'espace anglo-normand*, ed. C. Maneuvrier, J.-L. Chassel, and C. Blanc-Riehl (Paris, 2022), 177–91, at 187; S. G. Georgiou, "Guy de Hauteville, a Norman Noble in the Service of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118)," *Aiōnos: Miscellanea di studi storici* 25 (2022): 73–97.



Fig. 4. Seal of Guy [of Hauteville], protonobelissimos [1085–1108] (44). Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Coins and Seals Collection, Washington, DC.

personage is known to have participated in the military campaigns led by his father against the empire between 1081 and 1085, during which Alexios I Komnenos unsuccessfully attempted to secure his services by offering him lands, honors, and an advantageous marriage.²⁰ Guy appears to have ceded to these proposals shortly after, since he represented the basileus during discussions held in 1096 with the leaders of the First Crusade.²¹ He also seems to have been the founder of the Byzantine Gidoï family, a sign of his integration into Byzantine society.²² Like his uncle Humbert, Guy had only limited prospects in southern Italy; due to his older brothers preceding him in the line of succession, he could not hope to gain much from his father's inheritance. Emigrating to the Byzantine Empire therefore allowed him to acquire lands and status that he would not have been able to obtain by remaining within the family. However, unlike Humbert, Guy did not finish his career in the service of Byzantium; according to the obituary of the cathedral of Salerno, he died in Italy in 1108,²³ after having betrayed the imperial camp by assisting his half-brother Bohemond I in his invasion of Dalmatia, which took place between 1107 and 1108.²⁴ This case shows how Norman defections to Byzantium cannot be reduced to

a mere question of emigration; the opportunism of such men meant that many parvenus could change allegiance at the drop of a hat and return to their place of origin, if circumstances suited them.

The Entourage of the Great Conquerors of Southern Italy

Of course, there were other Normans settled in Byzantium, close to the Hauteville family, who came from the highest secular positions of southern Italy. A case in point is that of Oursel of Bailleul, for whom we have eight seals.²⁵ Born in France, this individual appears to have been part of the entourage of Duke William II of Normandy, with whom he subscribed two charters linked to the abbey of Saint-Wandrille (Seine-Maritime, France).²⁶ Without any known motive, Oursel then traveled to the Mezzogiorno, where his presence is attested in 1063 at the Battle of Cerami in Sicily, when Count Roger I of Hauteville defeated an Islamic army.²⁷ Oursel of Bailleul is cited among the lieutenants of Roger I, alongside Serlon of Hauteville and Ansgot of Pucheuil. Unlike the latter, however, he did not receive any land as a reward for his services.²⁸ It was probably this event that pushed him to join the Byzantine camp at the beginning of the 1070s, when, as head of a Frankish *tagma*, he received the dignity of vestes, which appears on seven identical seals (28–34; Fig. 5).²⁹ Seduced by imperial aspirations, Oursel even

20 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 6.5.2 (D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, eds., *Annae Comnenae Alexias* [Berlin, 2001], 175–76). For the 1084–1085 campaign, see Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, 222–23; G. Theotokis, *The Norman Campaigns in the Balkans, 1081–1108* (Woodbridge, UK, 2014), 177–84.

21 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 13.9.8 (Reinsch and Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 409–10).

22 J.-C. Cheynet, “La société urbaine,” in *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin & des Cinq études sur le XI^e siècle*, ed. B. Flusin and J.-C. Cheynet (Paris, 2017), 449–82, at 467; Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 187.

23 *Obituari* of San Matteo di Salerno, c. 32B, col. 1, no. 5 (C. A. Garufi, ed., *Necrologio del Liber confratrum di S. Matteo di Salerno*, vol. 1 [Rome, 1922], 92).

24 Russo, *Boemondo*, 184–86.

25 Regarding Oursel, see G. A. Leveniotis, *Το στασιαστικό κίνημα του Νορμανδού Ουρσελίου (Ursel de Bailleul) στη Μικρά Ασία (1073–1076)* (Thessaloniki, 2004), 86–92.

26 M. Fauroux, *Recueil des actes des ducs de Normandie de 911 à 1066* (Caen, 1961), 264–65, no. 106 [1046–1048], 338, no. 154 [1047–1063]. The identification of Oursel of Bailleul as Oursel of Baons-le-Comte (Seine-Maritime, France) has been proposed in L.-R. Ménager, “Appendice: Inventaire des familles normandes et franques émigrées en Italie méridionale et en Sicile (XI^e–XII^e siècles),” in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo*, 260–390, at 297.

27 Geoffroi Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius* 2.33.6–8 (Lucas-Avenel, *Histoire du grand comte*, 1:336–41). For a study of the historiography of the battle of Cerami, see A. Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Rome, 2011), 54–56.

28 Geoffroi Malaterra, *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae comitis et Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius* 2.46.1 (Lucas-Avenel, *Histoire du grand comte*, 1:388–89).

29 I follow the attribution of G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l’Empire byzantin* (Paris, 1884), 660; Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 181–82; Seibt, “Europäische Aristokraten,” 87.



Fig. 5. Seal of Oursel [of Bailleul], vestes, the Frank [1070–1075] (34). Courtesy of Rex Numismatics.



Fig. 6. Seal of Peter of Alife, protonobelissimos [1090–1110] (45). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France; photo by J.-C. Cheynet.

led a rebellion against Michael VII between 1072 and 1075, which eventually led to his imprisonment.³⁰ Pardoned in 1077, he was not only released, but also promoted to *proedros*: the title appears on a new seal that was engraved shortly before his death in 1078 (42).³¹

Oursel of Bailleul is not the only figure close to the Hautevilles who was able to forge a career in the empire and issue seals. A simple seal unearthed in Bulgaria (43) bears the name of Roger, son of Dagobert. This figure is well-known:³² initially part of the entourage of Robert Guiscard in southern Italy, he betrayed the duke shortly before 1081 by going over to the Byzantines, to whom he delivered the plans for the imminent Norman invasion.³³ Roger then emigrated to the empire, where his linguistic and military skills were recognized. In 1096, he was dispatched as ambassador

to Godfrey of Bouillon.³⁴ In 1108, he fought against Bohemond I, being part of the army led by the emperor Alexios I Komnenos, whom he advised and to whom he remained loyal, unlike Guy of Hauteville. Roger then participated in the negotiations between the two camps and signed the peace treaty by which Bohemond definitively submitted to Byzantium. Written sources inform us that he was accompanied by a certain Peter of Alife, who must have been a Norman from the eponymous town (Caserta, Italy);³⁵ this personage is also known by a seal that gives his rank as *protonobelissimos* (45; Fig. 6). Finally, we ought to add that Roger's epitaph, composed by Nicholas Kallikles, specifies that he was the founder of the Rogerioi family and that he obtained the title of *sebastos* following campaigns led against the Pechenegs.³⁶ Currently, this development in his career cannot be confirmed by sigillographic sources.

From the same perspective, we might also mention a seal issued by Robert Crispin, who emigrated to Byzantium after living in Italy, where he rubbed shoulders with the Drengot princes of Capua (27). According to Amatus of Montecassino, this Norman originating from the family of Tillières played a leading role in the capture of Barbastro, in Spain, in 1064.³⁷ However, the rapid loss of the city led to his departure toward southern Italy, from where he then emigrated to Constantinople.³⁸ In fact, his presence in the Mezzogiorno is confirmed by the appearance of his name in a document sealed in 1066 by Richard and Jordan I of Capua, where Robert is mentioned among the *fideles* of the two princes.³⁹ Although undoubtedly

34 Albert of Aix, *Historia Hierosolymitana* 2.9 (RHC HOcc, vol. 5 [Paris, 1879], 305; S. B. Edgington, trans., *Albert of Aachen's History of the Journey to Jerusalem* [Farnham, 2013], 49).

35 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 13.4.4, 13.12.28 (Reinsch and Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 395, 422–23). On the Norman presence at Alife, see G. Tescione, "Roberto conte normanno di Alife, Caiazzo e S. Agata dei Goti," *Archivio storico di Terra di Lavoro* 4 (1975): 9–52.

36 Nicholas Kallikles, *Carmi* 32 (R. Romano, ed., *Carmi* [Naples, 1980], 93–95, no. 19). For further details and an English translation of the epitaph, see L. Andriollo, "Nicholas Kallikles' Epitaph for the *Sebastos* Roger: The Success of a Norman Chief at the Court of Alexios I Komnenos," *Medioevo greco* 18 (2018): 1–17.

37 Ménager, "Appendice," 360.

38 Amatus of Montecassino, *Ystoire de li Normant* 1.5–8 (M. Guéret-Laferté, ed., *Ystoire de li Normant* [Paris, 2011], 85–86).

39 Cassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia di Montecassino, Aula III, Caps. XIV, no. 16 (1066) (E. Gattola, ed., *Ad historiam abbatiae Cassinensis accessiones* [Venice, 1734], 166–167): *Nunc autem, ob*

30 A. Vratimos, "Roussel's Decisive Victory against the Byzantines at the Sangarios River (1074)," *Byzantion Nea Hellás* 41 (2022): 187–204.

31 J.-C. Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)* (Paris, 1990), 78–79, no. 97.

32 Skoulatos, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade*, 275–78, no. 180.

33 Anna Komnene, *Alexiad* 1.15.5 (Reinsch and Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, 50).

prestigious, such mediation seems to have been nothing more than a formality. It might explain Crispin's departure to the Byzantine Empire, which allowed him to obtain a superior position: the Norman was thus named commander of a Frankish *tagma* and, as his lead seal shows, awarded the title of *protoproedros*. Having briefly revolted against Romanos IV Diogenes in 1069,⁴⁰ Robert returned to favor and died under the reign of Michael VII Doukas, between 1071 and 1078.⁴¹

The Lesser-Known Soldiers

Although a large part of the Norman sealers active in the empire came from the elites dominating southern Italy in the eleventh century, others of a lowlier status also managed to gain a footing within the Byzantine aristocracy. Unlike those already at the top of the Norman hierarchy, whose social skills were visibly appreciated by imperial diplomacy, the elevation of these men-at-arms seems to have depended mainly on their military prowess.

This is undoubtedly the case for most of the Normans whose seals were produced in Byzantium and whose titles or names do not allow a reliable identification. Thus, the Franks Bohemond and Zacharia (15 and 38–39; Fig. 7), the two Ralphs (14 and 41; see below, Fig. 21), and the different Williams (6–13 and 35–37; Figs. 8–10 and below, Fig. 18)—whose seals have come down to us—were all probably mercenaries of low birth. Zacharia is the only one of these individuals about whom some details can be given, as he certainly belonged to the family of Oursel of Bailleul.⁴² Despite their absence in the contemporary sources, most of them managed to obtain important titles, such as the *protonobelissimos* Berard of Rennes (40; see below, Fig. 16) or the *strategoi* of Seleucia Zacharia and William (37–39; see Fig. 10). Others, however, had to content themselves with inferior positions, like another William, who does not seem to have had a title and who only defines himself, on a clumsy seal, as a man of the



Fig. 7. Seal of Bohemond the Frank, *magistros* [1050–1100] (15). Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Coins and Seals Collection, Washington, DC.



Fig. 8. Seal of William, *patrikios* and *strategos* [1050–1075] (7). Courtesy of Nomos AG.



Fig. 9. Seal of William, *patrikios* [1050–1075] (9). Courtesy of Leu Numismatik.



Fig. 10. Seal of William, *magistros*, *strategos* of Seleucia, and man of the emperor [1070–1080] (37). Courtesy of Leu Numismatik.

interventum Robberti Crispini nostri dilecti fideli et Guigelli vicecomitis et Landulfi filio Auloaldi, damus, concedimus atque confirmamus in prefato monasterio predictum castellum Terame cum omnibus suis pertinentiis et adiacentiis per has fines.

40 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 75, no. 92.

41 Cheynet, "Le rôle des Occidentaux," 121; Cheynet and Wassiliou-Seibt, "Adelige aus dem 'Westen,'" 206.

42 A. Sopracasa and V. Prigent, "Sceaux byzantins de la collection Sopracasa," *TM* 21.1 (2017): 691–758, at 719.



Fig. 11. Seal of Hervé Frankopoulos, the Gaul [1050–1057] (1). Courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; photo by D. Sirotkin.



Fig. 12. Seal of Hervé Frankopoulos, the Gaul [1050–1057] (2). Courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; photo by D. Sirotkin.



Fig. 13. Seal of Hervé Frankopoulos, patrikios and stratelates [1050–1057] (3). Courtesy of Leu Numismatik.



Fig. 14. Seal of Hervé Frankopoulos, patrikios and stratelates [1050–1057] (4). Courtesy of NBS Auctions.

protonobelissimos Menas, an individual who is himself completely unknown (35).

A singular case, known to historiography since the nineteenth century, emerges from the mass of unrecognizable Norman sealers of the empire. We know a remarkable series of nine seals, from seven different matrices, issued between the years 1050 and 1071 by Hervé Frankopoulos, that is to say, “son of Frank.” These seals, all recently reexamined by Werner Seibt,⁴³ document the career of a soldier who is often mentioned in Byzantine sources. Hervé first appears as a lieutenant of the *katepano* of Italy George Maniakes, whom he supported in the revolt he led between 1042 and 1043 against Constantine IX Monomachos.⁴⁴ The circumstances of Hervé’s arrival are not documented, but it has been suggested that he may have been recruited directly from France.⁴⁵ This hypothesis derives from the fact that the legends of two of Hervé’s first seals include the words *ὁ Γαλλος*, that is to say, “the Gaul,” a term not employed on his later seals (1–2; Figs. 11–12). The reference might simply have been used to differentiate two individuals with the same name. Pardoned for his support of Maniakes, Hervé then served as an officer during the imperial military campaigns against the Pechenegs after 1049.⁴⁶ In 1057, probably already patrikios and *stratelates*, as shown by three seals (3–5; Figs. 13–14), but having failed to obtain from Michael VI the title of *magistros*, Hervé participated in a new revolt against the emperor.⁴⁷ His fifth seal, which contains neither title nor any mention of a geographical origin, was probably issued shortly after this time (17). No written source provides information on the rest of Hervé’s life, but three later seals prove that he resumed his career under Isaac I Komnenos and Constantine X Doukas.⁴⁸ He then presents himself as

43 W. Seibt, “Übernahm der französische Normanne Hervé (Erbebius Phrangopolos) nach der Katastrophe von Mantzikert das Kommando über die verbliebene Ostarmee?,” *SBS* 10 (2006): 89–96.

44 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 57–58, no. 61.

45 K. Ciggaar, “Byzantine Marginalia to the Norman Conquest,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1987): 43–63, at 45.

46 John Skylitzes, *Synopsis historion* (I. Thurn, ed., *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum* [Berlin, 1973], 484–85; J. Wortley, trans., *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811–1057* [Cambridge, 2010], 452–53).

47 Cheynet, *Pouvoir et contestations*, 67–68, no. 79.

48 Shepard, “The Uses of the Franks,” 296–97; Cheynet, “Le rôle des Occidentaux,” 119–21.



Fig. 15. Seal of Hervé Frankopoulos, proedros, stratelates, and duke of the East [1057–1071] (20). Courtesy of the Tatış collection; photo by J.-C. Cheynet.

magistros, vestes, and stratelates of the East (18), before finally being promoted to proedros and duke of the East (19–20; Fig. 15).

These various elements reveal that from the third quarter of the eleventh century, the Iberian and Italian peninsulas, toward which Norman soldiers often headed, were no longer sufficient to accommodate them. Having reserved the lion's share of their conquests in southern Italy for themselves, the Hautevilles and Drengots sought to organize the remuneration of the newcomers by virtue of their military preeminence, and in doing so excluded, threatened, or blocked some of their own fighters, as well as the most ambitious of their own family members and officers. Transfer to Byzantium thus provided those lower down the pecking order with the opportunity to experience social trajectories that would have been difficult to achieve in the Mezzogiorno, where lands, titles, and advantageous marriages were harder to come by. Integration into the Byzantine aristocracy offered the most important Normans of the empire, almost all of whom seem to have come from southern Italy, the possibility of using seals to demonstrate their place in the hierarchy of the local elite.

Images and Words Associated with Norman Integration into Byzantine Society

At first glance, the seals of the Normans serving the empire seem little different from those issued by Byzantine military officials themselves. In terms of layout, in forty-two out of forty-six cases, the seals are composed of an obverse featuring religious iconography with a purely epigraphic reverse format quite common within the Byzantine sigillographic corpus of the

eleventh and twelfth centuries. Certain Normans in Byzantium, on the other hand, chose exclusively epigraphic seal types, such as Hervé Frankopoulos, who only used this arrangement for one of his seal types (19–20; see also Fig. 15); Berard of Rennes (40; Fig. 16); and Ralph, son of Girard (41; Fig. 17). This preference is in no way out of the ordinary: epigraphic seals were widespread in the empire under the Komnenian dynasty, even if they were mainly used by individuals with a plethora of titles.⁴⁹ I might also add that, according to the available documentation, language did not appear to constitute a criterion of distinction for any of the Norman migrants; all employ Greek legends on their seals, without ever reverting to Latin.

These data need to be considered in the light of the iconographic and textual characteristics of the Norman seals of the empire, since a large part of them carry images or expressions that are rare in contemporaneous Byzantine seal issues. The main peculiarity of these seals is thus to display, in fifteen cases, a definition of the ethnicity of the owner, even though this characteristic is unknown in the Norman sigillography of Italy and is particularly rare in the diplomatic sources from the same context.⁵⁰ The term used is almost always Φράγγος, that is to say, “Frank” (14–15, 28–34, and 38–39; see above, Figs. 5 and 7, and below, Fig. 21). We only encounter the word Νορμανδός, “Norman,” on a single seal (13; Fig. 18), while four others mention a geographical origin: ὁ Γάλλος, “the Gaul” (1–2; see above, Figs. 11–12); τὸ Ἀλίφα, “of Alife” (45; see above, Fig. 6); and τε Πάινε, “from Rennes” (40; see below, Fig. 16).

These textual references to foreignness can be supplemented by the adoption of an iconography that is in itself singular, such as a representation of Saint Peter. Jean-Claude Cheynet recently showed the rarity of this formula in Byzantine sigillography; according to him, only thirty-five seals using this image are known from the eleventh century, even though this is the moment when it is most prevalent.⁵¹ It is generally adopted by

49 Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin*, 32.

50 R. Canosa, *Etnogenesi normanne e identità variabili: Il retroterra culturale dei Normanni d'Italia fra Scandinavia e Normandia* (Turin, 2009); R. Canosa, “Discours ethniques et pratiques du pouvoir des Normands d'Italie: Sources narratives et documentaires (XI^e–XII^e siècles),” in *911–2011: Penser les mondes normands médiévaux*, ed. D. Bates and P. Bauduin (Caen, 2016), 341–56.

51 J.-C. Cheynet, “L'iconographie des sceaux byzantins: L'exemple de l'image de saint Pierre,” *BAntFr* (2018): 136–55, at 146.



Fig. 16. Seal of Berard of Rennes, protonobelissimos [1070–1100] (40). Courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France; photo by J.-C. Cheynet.



Fig. 17. Seal of Ralph, son of Girard, servant of the holy emperor [1075–1100] (41). Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Coins and Seals Collection, Washington, DC.



Fig. 18. Seal of William the Norman, anthypatos [1050–1100] (13). Courtesy of the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; photo by D. Sirotkin.



Fig. 19. Seal of Bohemond [I of Hauteville] [1098–1111] (46). Courtesy of Leu Numismatik.

institutions or men of the church, but also circulates among a small number of Eastern families. Following a practice already frequent in Byzantium, this saint can also adorn the seals of individuals who are themselves named Peter.⁵² But Peter was also particularly appreciated by the Normans in the empire, as demonstrated by the ten seals listed here (1–5, 14, 18, 27, 43, and 46; see above, Figs. 11–14; Fig. 19; and see below, Fig. 21). On these objects, the saint is portrayed in an almost fixed form, with a full face and bust, bearded, holding a staff cross or a scroll.⁵³ Unlike the isolated representation of Peter, this formula is, in fact, well attested in the Byzantine seals corpus, particularly in the Levant.⁵⁴

Such a frequent iconographic choice, which undoubtedly testifies to a widespread form of personal devotion, must be placed in the context of Peter's popularity in central and southern Italy as a whole. In Apulia, the chapel of the Ducal Palace is dedicated to this apostle, and his importance in Rome goes without saying, appearing on the seals of Leo IX (r. 1049–1054).⁵⁵ At the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the promotion of this iconographic model by the papal authority seems to have led, exceptionally for Norman Italy, the two eldest sons of Robert Guiscard to simultaneously adopt seals featuring Saint Peter; he is seated on a throne

52 Cheynet, "L'iconographie des sceaux byzantins," 149–51.

53 I should specify that although Robert Crispin's seal does indeed include the image of Peter on the obverse, he is portrayed standing while meeting Paul, and so this seal falls outside the trend (27).

54 J. Nesbitt, "The Contribution of Byzantine Lead Seals to the Study of the Cult of the Saints (Sixth–Twelfth Century)," *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 383–497, at 419–21. The image chosen by Robert Crispin can be compared to those of the seals of Gregory VII (r. 1073–1085), who was Crispin's contemporary; see J. M. de Francisco Olmos, "El sello de plomo en la Cancillería pontificia: Origen y evolución," in *De sellos y blasones: Miscelánea científica*, ed. J. C. Galende Díaz, N. Ávila Seoane, and B. Santiago Medina (Madrid, 2012), 171–254, at 212–14. However, Peter and Paul, who appear together on papal seals from Benedict X (r. 1058–1059) onward, are usually shown full-length rather than in bust: J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Bullen der Päpste bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim, 1976), 51.

55 Regarding the iconographic evolution of pontifical lead seals, see von Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Bullen der Päpste*, 45–58; É. Bouyé, "Paul et Pierre, jumeaux refondateurs de Rome: À propos de l'iconographie des bulles pontificales," in *Ab urbe condita . . . : Fonder et refonder la ville; Récits et représentations (second Moyen Âge–premier XVI^e siècle)*, ed. V. Lamazou-Duplan (Pau, 2011), 105–26; de Francisco Olmos, "El sello de plomo."



Fig. 20. Seal of Bohemond [I of Hauteville] (1085–1111). Courtesy of the Archives départementales du Calvados; photo by the author.



Fig. 21. Seal of Ralph the Frank, magistros [1050–1100] (14). Courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Coins and Seals Collection, Washington, DC.

for Roger Borsa's⁵⁶ and in bust for that of Bohemond I of Hauteville.⁵⁷ In the latter case, the chosen image (Fig. 20) appears remarkably close to specific Byzantine models; it can, for example, be compared to that which appears on the seal of a Norman serving the empire, the magistros Ralph (14; Fig. 21). After the success of the First Crusade, Bohemond I maintained this iconographic choice for the seals he issued in the East, as shown by an unpublished impression (46; see above, Fig. 19).

Conclusion

The seals of the Normans in imperial service oscillate between two dynamics: on the one hand, a quest for a full and complete sigillographic integration, which leaves little room for the promotion of foreignness; on

the other, the use of distinctive ethnic and iconographic criteria—almost never specifically Norman—that may have been considered rewarding. The two phenomena are not necessarily opposed; indeed, there is at least one case of a sealer, namely, Oursel of Bailleul, who initially chose to signify his otherness by describing himself as Frank, before subsequently adopting a seal type that effectively erased this distinction (28–34 and 42; see above, Fig. 5). In any case, all the sigillographic productions of the Normans in Byzantium are expressed according to Byzantine models, both in terms of language and layout. What is more, the sealers use of criteria of differentiation constantly adheres to the social norms of the empire they found themselves in, both with regard to its elite hierarchy and its designation of foreigners.⁵⁸ These discriminating characteristics also seem to have been more oriented toward Byzantium than toward the Norman world, at a time when seals were largely uncommon in the latter, and when the mention of ethnicity or the valorization of the image of Saint Peter was still a rarity in the former. All these elements thus demonstrate that the feeling of belonging to a social milieu composed of Western migrants was coupled with a genuine effort to fit in within Byzantine society, which, as the case of the returning Guy of Hauteville shows (44; see above, Fig. 4), did not necessarily signify a definitive break with their origins. Ultimately, the seals of the Normans who migrated to Byzantium served almost as instruments of integration into the empire itself. Tangible signs of the Normans' association with the imperial cause, such seals were never intended to highlight any differences they might have had with the political structure that embraced them. This conclusion is corroborated by an examination of the seals of descendants of Normans who founded a family in Byzantium; apart from the use, in accordance with the anthroponymy system in effect in the empire, of patronymic names that testify to foreign descent, all traces of foreignness tend to

56 A photographed example appears in G. Ruotolo and G. Cioffari, *I sigilli della Basilica di San Nicola di Bari: Periodo bizantino normanno e svevo* (Vicenza, 2002), 86–87.

57 G. Dorandeu, "Une bulle de Bohémond I^{er} de Hauteville découverte à Juaye-Mondaye (Calvados)," *Annales de Normandie* 71.1 (2021): 91–101.

58 Regarding the qualification of foreigners in the Byzantine world, see A. Kaldellis, *Ethnography after Antiquity: Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature* (Philadelphia, 2013); G. Dagron, "Ceux d'en face": Les peuples étrangers dans les traités militaires byzantins," *TM* 10 (1987): 207–32. On the specific case of the Normans, see Shepard, "The Uses of the Franks," 280–81. A review of historiography on otherness in Byzantium is provided in M. Mullett, "The 'Other' in Byzantium," in *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider*, ed. D. C. Smythe (Aldershot, 2000), 1–22.

disappear immediately.⁵⁹ In the long term, however, most Norman lineages failed to maintain their position among the higher levels of the Byzantine aristocracy.⁶⁰

École française de Rome
Piazza Navona 62
Rome 00186 RM
Italy

59 See, for example, Nikephoros Frankopoulos: J.-C. Cheynet and D. Theodoridis, *Sceaux byzantins de la collection D. Theodoridis: Les sceaux patronymiques* (Paris, 2010), 178–79, no. 170; Stephen Frankopoulos: V. Penchev, “Njokolko vizantijski molivdovula ot kraja na XI vek, čast ot ‘arhiv,’ proizhoždašt ot Bălgarija [Several Byzantine Molybdo bullae Dated Back to the Late 11th C., a Part from Archive from Bulgaria],” *Numizmatika, sfragistika i epigrafika* 17 (2021): 115–22, at 118, no. 4; and Theodore Frankopoulos: I. Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, 3 vols. (Sofia, 2003–2009), 2:424, no. 737.

60 Nicol, “Symbiosis and Integration,” 122–35.

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Appendix

Chronological Inventory of Norman Seals in Byzantium, Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Direct translations for the seals are not provided, as each obverse inscription simply names the saint on the obverse and each reverse inscription provides the details of the name, office, and rank already noted in each entry. The only exceptions are 19–20 and 40–41, which are purely epigraphic.

Where the legends contain Greek errors, a correct restitution has been added after the transcription.

- 1 Hervé Frankopoulos, the Gaul [1050–1057] (Fig. 11)
St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum,
M-2280—D. 24 mm.

Cit. Seibt, “Übernahm der französische Normanne Hervé,” 95; Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 179, no. 3.

Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Peter, facing, holding a staff cross over his left shoulder.

Sigla: O|A|Γ|O|. – Π|Ε|ΤΡΟ|C : Ὁ ἄγιος Πέτρος.

Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of four lines.

+ΕΡΕ|ΟCΦΡΑ|ΚΟΠΥΛΟ|ΓΑΛΛΟ
+Ερβέ(βι)ος ὁ Φρα(γ)κόπουλος ὁ Γάλλος.

- 2 Hervé Frankopoulos, the Gaul [1050–1057] (Fig. 12)
St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum,
M-10721—D. 31 mm.

Cit. Seibt, “Übernahm der französische Normanne Hervé,” 95.

Obv. Indeterminate border. Bust of Saint Peter, facing.

Sigla: O|A|Γ|O|. – Π|Ε|ΤΡΟ|C : Ὁ ἄγιος Πέτρος.

Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of five lines.

+ΕΡΕ|ΟCΦΡΑΝ|ΚΟΠΥΛΟ|ΟΓΑΛΛ|Ο
+Ερβέ(βι)ος ὁ Φρανκόπουλος ὁ Γάλλος.

- 3 Hervé Frankopoulos, patrikios and stratelates [1050–1057] (Fig. 13)
Private collection—D. 33 mm.
Cit. Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 28, 13 December 2023, no. 5246.

Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Peter, facing, blessing with his right hand, holding a scroll in his left hand.

Sigla: O|A|ΟΓC|I – .|.O.C|P : Ὁ ἄγιος Π[έτ]ρος.

Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of seven lines.

+ΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘ,ΤΟCΟΔ|ΨΛΕΡΡΕ|Ι
ΠΑΦΗΖCΤ|.ΤΗΘΦΡΑ|ΝΓΟΠΟ|ΛC
+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τὸ σὸ δούλ(ω) Ἐρβεβί(ω)
πατρ(ικίω) (καί) στ[ρ(α)]τη(λάτη) ὁ
Φρανγόπολ(ος).

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ἐρβεβίῳ πατρικίῳ καὶ στρατηλάτῃ τῷ Φρανγοπόλῳ.

- 4 Hervé Frankopoulos, patrikios and stratelates [1050–1057] (Fig. 14)

Private collection—D. 34 mm.

Cit. NBS Auctions, Web Auction 16, 26 February 2023, no. 638.

Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Peter, facing, holding a scroll in his left hand.

Sigla: O|A|.ΓC|I – Π|Ε|ΟΤC|P : Ὁ ἄγι[ος] Πέτρος.

Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of five lines.

+ΕΡΕ|ΟCΠΑΤΡ|CΤΡΑΟ|. ἈΝΚΞ|Λ.
+Ερβέ(βι)ος πατρ(ικίος) (καί) στρα(τηλάτης) ὁ
[Φρ]ανκού(που)λ[ος].
Ἐρβέβιος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηλάτης ὁ
Φρανκούπουλος.

- 5 Hervé Frankopoulos, patrikios and stratelates [1050–1057]

Private collection—D. 34 mm.

Cit. NBS Auctions, Web Auction 16, 26 February 2023, no. 654.

Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Peter, facing, holding a scroll in his left hand.

Sigla: .|.C|. – .|.ΟΤC|P : [Ὁ ἄγιος] [Πέ]τρος.

Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of five lines.

+ΕΡ|.CΠΑΤΡ|CΤΡΑΟΦ|..ΝΚΞ|.δ

- +Ἐρβ[έ(βι)ο]ς πατρ(ίκιος) (καὶ) στρα(τηλάτης) ὁ
Φ[ρα]νκού(που)[λ]ου.
Ἐρβέβιος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηλάτης ὁ
Φρανκούπουλος.
- 6 William, patrikios and strategos [1050–1075]
Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museums,
Ist. 910 (ex 71)—D. 24 mm.
Cit. Seibt, “Europäische Aristokraten auf
byzantinischer Karriereleiter,” 90–91; J.-C.
Cheynet, T. Gökyıldırım, and V. Bulgurlu,
*Les sceaux byzantins du Musée archéologique
d’Istanbul* (Istanbul, 2012), 235–36, no. 2.238.
Obv. Border of dots. The Mother of God seated
on a throne, holding the medallion of Christ
before her.
Sigla at right: .. – ΘῚ : [Μ(ήτη)ρ] Θ(εο)ῦ.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of six lines.
+ΘΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘ,ΤΟCΟΟ|.ΚΕΤΗΓΗ..|ΑΛΜΟΠ̄..|
SCTPA..|ΓΩ
+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) τὸ σὸ ο[ι]κέτη Γη[λ]ήαλμο
π[(ατ)ρι(κίω)] (καὶ) στρα[τη]γῶ.
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῶ σῶ οἰκέτη Γηληάλμω πατρικίω
καὶ στρατηγῶ.
- 7 William, patrikios and strategos [1050–1075]
(Fig. 8)
Private collection—D. 24 mm.
Cit. Nomos AG, Auction 18, 5 May 2019, no. 382.
Obv. Border of dots. The Mother of God seated
on a throne, holding the medallion of Christ
before her.
Sigla: ΜΡ – ΘῚ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of six lines.
+ΘΚΕΡΟ|ΗΘ,ΤΟCΟΟΙ|ΚΕΤΗΓΗΛΗ|
ΑΛΜΟΠ̄ΡΙ|SCTPAΘΗ|ΓΩ
+Θ(εοτό)κε βοήθ(ει) τὸ σὸ οἰκέτη Γηληάλμο
π(ατ)ρι(κίω) (καὶ) στρατηγῶ.
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῶ σῶ οἰκέτη Γηληάλμω πατρικίω
καὶ στρατηγῶ.
- 8 William, hypatos and strategos [1050–1075]
Location unknown—D. 24 mm.
Cit. G. Zacos, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, vol. 2, ed.
J. W. Nesbitt (Bern, 1984), 261, no. 492, pl. 50,
no. 492; Cheynet, “Du prénom au patronyme,”
1:135; Seibt, “Europäische Aristokraten auf
byzantinischer Karriereleiter,” 89–90.
- Obv.* Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God
orans, facing.
Sigla: ΜΡ – ΘῚ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+ΓΗΛΗ|.ΑΜΟC|.ΠΑΤΟC|.CΤΡΑΤ,|ΓΟC
+Γηλή[α]λμος [ῥ]πατος [(καὶ)] στρατ(η)γός.
- 9 William, patrikios [1050–1075] (Fig. 9)
Private collection—D. 13 mm.
Cit. Leu Numismatik, Auction 10, 24 October
2021, no. 2443.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God
orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: ΜΡ – ΘῚ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+ΚΕΡΘ|ΤΩCΩΔΗ|.ΟΝΛΗΕΛ|ΜΟΠΑΤΡΙ|ΚΙΩ
+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῶ σῶ δοῦ(λῳ) [Γ]ουληέλμο
πατρικίω.
Κύριε βοήθει τῶ σῶ δοῦλῳ Γουληέλμω πατρικίω.
- 10 William, patrikios [1050–1075]
Private collection—D. unknown.
Cit. G. Manganaro, “Sigilli diplomatici bizantini
in Sicilia,” *JNG* 53–54 (2003–2004): 73–90, at
79–80, 89, no. 59.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God
orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: ΜΡ – ΘῚ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+ΚΕΡΘ|ΤΩCΩΔΗ|ΓΟΝΛΗΕΛ|ΜΟΠΑΤΡΙ|
ΚΙΩ
+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) τῶ σῶ δοῦ(λῳ) Γουληέλμο
πατρικίω.
Κύριε βοήθει τῶ σῶ δοῦλῳ Γουληέλμω πατρικίω.
- 11 William, patrikios [1050–1075]
Private collection—D. 28 mm.
Cit. Biga Numismatics, Web Auction 17, 19 March
2023, no. 442.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God
orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: ΜΡ – ΘῚ : Μ(ήτη)ρ Θ(εο)ῦ.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+ΚΕΡΘ,|.ΩCΩΔΗ|.ΟΝΛΗΕΛ|ΜΟΠΑΤΡΙ|ΚΙΩ
+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθ(ει) [τ]ῶ σῶ δοῦ(λῳ) [Γ]ουληέλμο
πατρικίω.
Κύριε βοήθει τῶ σῶ δοῦλῳ Γουληέλμω πατρικίω.

- 12 William, patrikios [1050–1075]
Private collection—D. 28 mm.
Cit. Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 32, 9
December 2024, no. 2980.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God
orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: **MP** – **ΘV** : **M**(ήτη)ρ **Θ**(εο)ῦ.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+KĒRΘ|TWCWΔY|.ONΛHEΛ|.OPATPI|KIΩ
+K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δοῦ(λῳ) [Γ]ουληέλ[μ]ο
πατρικίῳ.
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γουληέλμῳ πατρικίῳ.
- 13 William the Norman, anthypatos [1050–1100]
(Fig. 18)
St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum,
M-8233—D. 30 mm.
Cit. N. P. Lihachev, *Molivdovuly grečeskogo Vostoka*,
ed. V. S. Šandrovskaja (Moscow, 1991), 87–88,
no. 11, pl. 61.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God,
facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: **MP** – **ΘV**|**IC** – **XC** : **M**(ήτη)ρ **Θ**(εο)ῦ.
Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of six lines.
+KĒBO|HΘEICTW|ΔΘΛWΓIΔIAI|
MΩANONPA|ITNOPM|ANΔW
+K(ύρι)ε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Γιλιάλμῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ
τῷ Νορμανδῷ.
The two letters **ΘV** are linked, resulting in a
shape akin to **Θ**.
- 14 Ralph the Frank, magistros [1050–1100] (Fig. 21)
Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research
Library and Collection, BZS.1958.106.4906—
D. 23 mm.
Cit. Cheynet and Wassiliou-Seibt, “Adelige aus
dem ‘Westen,’” 207.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Peter, facing,
holding a staff cross over his right shoulder.
Sigla: **Θ|Π|Ε** – **T|P|O**, : **Ο** ἄ(γιος) Πέτρος.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+KĒR,Θ|TWCWΔY,|ΛAΘΛΦPA|KΘMAGIC|
CTPΘ
+K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δοῦ(λῳ) Λαοὺλ Φράκου
μαγίστρω.
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ραοὺλ Φράγκῳ
μαγίστρῳ.
- 15 Bohemond the Frank, magistros [1050–1100]
(Fig. 7)
Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research
Library and Collection, BZS.1955.1.3023—
D. 26 mm.
Unpublished.
Obv. Indeterminate border. Standing figure of
a saint, holding a spear in his right hand and a
shield in his left hand. No traces of sigla.
Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of six lines.
+KĒRΘ,|TWCWΔY,|RΘMONTI|MAΓICTP,|
TWΦPAΓ|ΓW
+K(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ) Βουμόντη
μαγίστρ(ῳ) τῷ Φράγγῳ.
- 16 Walter Petrones, patrikios, anthypatos, and strategos
[1050–1100]
Location unknown—D. unknown.
Cit. G. Schlumberger, “Sceaux byzantins inédits
(cinquième série),” *RN* (1905): 321–54, at 336,
no. 245.
Obv. Indeterminate border. Standing figure of
Saint Michael, facing.
Sigla: **M|I** – **X|A** : **M**ιχα(ήλ).
Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of six lines.
+KĒRO,|RAΛTEPH|ΠPIANONPA|
TWSCTRATI|ΓWTPE|TPΩNH
+K(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θ(ει) Βάλτερη π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) ἀνθυπάτῳ
(καί) στρατιγῷ τῷ Πέτρωνῃ.
Κύριε βοήθει Βάλτερι πατρικίῳ ἀνθυπάτῳ καί
στρατηγῷ τῷ Πέτρωνι.
- 17 Hervé Frankopoulos [ca. 1057]
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, collection
Zacos, no. 1081—D. 20 mm.
Cit. Seibt, “Übernahm der französische Normanne
Hervé,” 96; J.-C. Cheynet, “Introduction à la
sigillographie byzantine,” in *La société byzantine:
L’apport des sceaux*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2008), 1–82, at 81;
J.-C. Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 181.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Demetrios,
facing, holding a spear in his right hand.
Sigla: **O|Δ|H** – **M|**. : **Ο** (ἄγιος) Δημ(ή)τριος.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+|EPRERI|ΘCΦPAΓIC|MATΘΦPA|ΓΓOΠW|ΛΘ
+Ερβερίου σφράγισμα τοῦ Φραγγοπώλου.

- 18** Hervé Frankopoulos, *magistros*, *vestes*, and *stratelates* of the East [1057–1071]
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France,
Département des Monnaies, médailles et
antiques, ex-fonds Schlumberger, “Grands
modules,” no. 1193—D. 25 mm.
Cit. Seibt, “Übernahm der französische Normanne
Hervé,” 89; Seibt, “Europäische Aristokraten
auf byzantinischer Karriereleiter,” 93; Cheynet,
“L’iconographie des sceaux byzantins,” 152.
Obv. Indeterminate border. Bust of Saint Peter,
facing, holding a staff cross over his right
shoulder.
Sigla: Θ|Π|Ε – Τ|Ρ|Ο, : Ὁ ἄ(γιος) Πέτρος(ς).
Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of seven
lines.
+ΕΡΡΕΡΙΩ|ΜΑΓΙΣΤΡΩ|ΡΕCΤΗCΤΡ|
ΑΤΗΛΑΤΗΤΗ|ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗΤΩ|
ΦΡΑΓΟΠΩ|ΛΩ
+Ἐρβερίω μαγίστρω βέστη (καὶ) στρατηλάτῃ
τῇ(ς) Ἀνατολῇ(ς) τῷ Φραγοπῶλῳ.
- 19** Hervé Frankopoulos, *proedros*, *stratelates*, and *duke*
of the East [1057–1071]
Private collection—D. unknown.
Cit. Seibt, “Übernahm der französische Normanne
Hervé,” 92; Seibt, “Europäische Aristokraten auf
byzantinischer Karriereleiter,” 95; Cheynet and
Wassiliou-Seibt, “Adelige aus dem ‘Westen,’”
207; Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 180.
Obv. Indeterminate border. Inscription of five lines.
ΚΕ|ΒΟΗΘΗΕΡ|ΒΕΒΙΩΑΕ.|ΟCΤΡΑΤ.|ΑΤΗΔ..
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
ΙΚ|ΑΙΝΠΕΡΕΧΟ|.ΑΚΑΙΦΑΛΗ.|..ΑΝΑΤΩΛ..|
...ΡΑ..
Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη Ἐρβερίῳ (προ)έ[δρ]ο στρατ[ιλ]άτῃ
δ[ουκ]ῇ καὶ ὑπερέχον[ν(τι)] ἀκαιφάλῃ[(ς) τῇς]
Ἀνατωλ[εῖ(ς) τὸ Φ]ρα[γ(γ)ο(πῶλῳ)].
Κύριε βοήθει Ἐρβερίῳ προέδρῳ στρατηλάτῃ δουκὶ
καὶ ὑπερέχοντι ἀκεφάλῃς τῇς Ἀνατολῇς τῷ
Φραγοπῶλῳ.
- 20** Hervé Frankopoulos, *proedros*, *stratelates*, and *duke*
of the East [1057–1071] (Fig. 15)
Tatış collection, no. 2737—D. 33 mm.
Cit. J.-C. Cheynet, *Les sceaux byzantins de la
collection Yavuz Tatış* (Izmir, 2019), 151–52,
no. 3.43.
Obv. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
ΚΕ|ΒΟΗΘΗΕΡ|ΒΕΒΙΩΑΕ.|ΟCΤΡΑΤΙ|.ΑΤΗΔΘΚ
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
ΙΚ|..VΠΕΡΕΧΟ|.ΑΚΑΙΦΑΛΗ|.CANΑΤΩΛΕΙ|
ΤΟΦΡΑ..
Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη Ἐ[ρ]βερίῳ (προ)έ[δρ]ο
στρατι[λ]άτῃ δ[ουκ]ῇ κ[αὶ] ὑπερέχον[ν(τι)]
ἀκαιφάλῃ[(ς) τῇς] Ἀνατωλ[εῖ(ς) τὸ
Φρα[γ(γ)ο(πῶλῳ)].
Κύριε βοήθει Ἐρβερίῳ προέδρῳ στρατηλάτῃ δουκὶ
καὶ ὑπερέχοντι ἀκεφάλῃς τῇς Ἀνατολῇς τῷ
Φραγοπῶλῳ.
- 21** Humbert [of Hauteville], *patrikios*, *strategos*, and
domestikos [1060–1071] (Fig. 2)
Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research
Library and Collection, BZS.1955.1.3159—
D. 30 mm.
Cit. Cheynet, “Du prénom au patronyme,”
135; Seibt, “Europäische Aristokraten auf
byzantinischer Karriereleiter,” 84–85; Cheynet,
“L’usage des sceaux,” 182.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Nicholas,
facing, blessing with his right hand, holding a
book in his left hand.
Sigla: Θ|ΝΙ|.Ο – Λ|.Ο|C : Ὁ ἄ(γιος)
Νι[κ]όλ[α]ος.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of seven lines.
+ΚΕΡΘ,|ΤΩCΩΔΗΛ|ΟΝΝΠΕΡΤΩ|
ΠΙCΤΡΑΤ,Γ|SΔΟΜΕCΤΙ|ΚΩΤΟΝΟΙ.|
ΤΟΝΦΡ.
+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ῳ) Οὐνπέρτῳ
π(ατ)ρι(κίῳ) στρατ(η)γ(ῶ) (καὶ) δομεστίκῳ τον
[. . .] τον Φρ(ά)[γ(ων)].
Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Οὐμπέρτῳ πατρικίῳ
στρατηγῶ καὶ δομεστίκῳ τον [. . .] Φράγγων.
- 22** Humbert [of Hauteville], *patrikios*, *strategos*, and
domestikos [1060–1071]
Kofopoulos collection, no. 1764—D. 31 mm.
Cit. J.-C. Cheynet, *Les sceaux byzantins de la
collection Savvas Kofopoulos*, vol. 1 (Paris, 2022),
410–11, no. 3.258.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Nicholas,
facing, blessing with his right hand, holding a
book in his left hand. No traces of sigla.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of seven lines.

-|..CΩΔΗΛ|.VNΠΕΡΤΩ|.ΡΙCΤΡΑΤ,.,|
 .ΔΟΜΕC..|ΚΩΤΟΝΟΙ|.ΤΟΝΦΡΓ
 [+Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ] σῷ δούλ(ω) [Ο]ὐνπέρτω
 [π(ατ)]ρι(κίω) στρατ(η)[γ(ῶ)] [(καί)]
 δομεσ[τί]κω τον [...] τον Φρ(ά)γ(γων).
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Οὐμπέρτῳ πατρικίῳ
 στρατηγῷ καὶ δομεστίκῳ τον [...] Φράγγων.
- 23 Humbert [of Hauteville], vestes and strategos
 [1060–1071] (Fig. 3)
 Geneva, Museum of Art and History, CdN 2004-
 0502—D. 28 mm.
 Cit. Seibt, “Europäische Aristokraten
 auf byzantinischer Karriereleiter,” 86;
 M. Campagnolo-Pothitou and J.-C. Cheynet,
*Sceaux de la collection George Zacos au Musée
 d’art et d’histoire de Genève* (Milan, 2016), 119,
 no. 98.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Nicholas,
 facing, blessing with his right hand, holding a
 book in his left hand.
 Sigla: Θ|ΝΙ|Κ, – Λ|ΑΟ|C, : ‘Ο ἄ(γιο)ς
 Νικ(ό)λαος.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
 +ΚĒΡ,Θ̄,|ΟΝΝΠΕΡ|ΤΙΡΕCΤΗ|CΤΡΑ|ΤΙΓΩ
 +Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Οὐνπέρτι Βέστη (καί)
 στρατιγῷ.
 Κύριε βοήθει Οὐμπέρτι Βέστη καὶ στρατηγῷ.
- 24 Humbert [of Hauteville], vestes and strategos
 [1060–1071]
 Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research
 Library and Collection, BZS.1955.1.2374—
 D. 28 mm.
 Unpublished.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Nicholas,
 facing, blessing with his right hand, holding a
 book in his left hand.
 Sigla: Θ|ΝΙ|Κ, – Λ|ΑΟ|C, : ‘Ο ἄ(γιο)ς
 Νικ(ό)λαος.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
 +ΚĒΡ,Θ̄,|ΟΝΝΠΕΡ|ΤΙΡΕCΤΗ|CΤΡΑ|ΤΙΓΩ
 +Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Οὐνπέρτι Βέστη (καί)
 στρατιγῷ.
 Κύριε βοήθει Οὐμπέρτι Βέστη καὶ στρατηγῷ.
- 25 Humbert [of Hauteville], vestes and strategos
 [1060–1071]
 Private collection—D. 25 mm.
 Cit. Gorny & Mosch, Auction 293, 6–7 March
 2023, no. 795.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Nicholas,
 facing, blessing with his right hand, holding a
 book in his left hand.
 Sigla: Θ|ΝΙ|Κ, – Λ|ΑΟ|C, : ‘Ο ἄ(γιο)ς
 Νικ(ό)λαος.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
 +ΚĒΡ,Θ̄,|ΟΝΝΠΕΡ|ΤΙΡΕCΤΗ|CΤΡΑ|ΤΙΓΩ
 +Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Οὐνπέρτι Βέστη (καί)
 στρατιγῷ.
 Κύριε βοήθει Οὐμπέρτι Βέστη καὶ στρατηγῷ.
- 26 Humbert [of Hauteville], vestes and strategos
 [1060–1071]
 Private collection—D. 27 mm.
 Cit. Pecunem Online Auctions, Auction 42, 3
 April 2016, no. 1133.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Nicholas,
 facing, blessing with his right hand, holding a
 book in his left hand.
 Sigla: Θ|ΝΙ|Κ, – Λ|ΑΟ|C, : ‘Ο ἄ(γιο)ς
 Νικ(ό)λαος.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
 +ΚĒΡ,Θ̄,|ΟΝΝΠΕΡ|ΤΙΡΕCΤΗ|CΤΡΑ|ΤΙΓΩ
 +Κ(ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) Οὐνπέρτι Βέστη (καί)
 στρατιγῷ.
 Κύριε βοήθει Οὐμπέρτι Βέστη καὶ στρατηγῷ.
- 27 Robert Crispin, protoproedros [1066–1078]
 Private collection—D. 30 mm.
 Cit. M. N. Butyrsky, “Pečat protoproedra Umberta
 Grisina,” *ADSV* 40 (2011): 226–33; W. Seibt,
 “III: Abteilung; Bibliographische Notizen und
 Mitteilungen,” *BZ* 105.1 (2012): 506.
Obv. Indeterminate border. Saint Peter and Saint
 Paul meeting each other and clasping hands.
 Indistinct sigla.
Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of six lines.
 +.ΕΡΘ|ΤΩCΩΔΗΛ|.ΩΜΠΕΡΤΟ|Α,ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟ
 |ΤΟΓΡΙCΠ|ΝΩ
 +[Κ(ύρι)]ε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δούλ(ω) [Ρ]ωμπέρτο
 (πρωτο)προέδρο τὸ Γρισπ(ι)νῷ.
 Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Ρουμπέρτῳ
 πρωτοπροέδρῳ τῷ Γρισπίνῳ.

- 28** Oursel [of Bailleul], vestes, the Frank [1070–1075]
Khoury collection, no. 34—D. 30 mm.
Cit. J.-C. Cheynet, “Sceaux de la collection Khoury,” *RN* 159 (2003): 419–56, at 436–37, no. 20; Seibt, “Europäische Aristokraten auf byzantinischer Karriereleiter,” 87; Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 181–82.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: $\overline{M}\overline{P} - \overline{\Theta}\overline{V}$: $M(\acute{\eta}\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}$.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+| $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{T}\overline{W}\overline{C}\overline{W}\overline{\Delta}\overline{H}$,| $\overline{K}\overline{H}\overline{P}\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{L}\overline{I}$ | $\overline{R}\overline{E}\overline{C}\overline{T}$, $\overline{T}\overline{W}$
| $\overline{\Phi}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\Omega}$
+ $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta(\omicron\eta)\theta(\epsilon\iota) \tau\tilde{\omega} \sigma\tilde{\omega} \delta\omicron\upsilon(\lambda\omega)$
Κουρσελί(ω) βέστ(η) τῷ Φ[ρ]άγ(γ)ο.
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Κουρσελίῳ βέστῃ
τῷ Φράγγῳ.
- 29** Oursel [of Bailleul], vestes, the Frank [1070–1075]
Private collection—D. 29 mm.
Cit. Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 18, 19 December 2021, no. 4026; Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 24, 5 December 2022, no. 3642.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: $\overline{M}\overline{P} - \overline{\Theta}\overline{V}$: $M(\acute{\eta}\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}$.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+| $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{T}\overline{W}\overline{C}\overline{W}\overline{\Delta}\overline{H}$,| $\overline{K}\overline{H}\overline{P}\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{L}\overline{I}$ | $\overline{R}\overline{E}\overline{C}\overline{T}$, $\overline{T}\overline{W}$
| $\overline{\Phi}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\Omega}$
+ $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta(\omicron\eta)\theta(\epsilon\iota) \tau\tilde{\omega} \sigma\tilde{\omega} \delta\omicron\upsilon(\lambda\omega)$
Κουρσελί(ω) βέστ(η) τῷ Φράγ(γ)ο.
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Κουρσελίῳ βέστῃ
τῷ Φράγγῳ.
- 30** Oursel [of Bailleul], vestes, the Frank [1070–1075]
Private collection—D. unknown.
Cit. Sopracasa and Prigent, “Sceaux byzantins de la collection Sopracasa,” 717, no. 2obis.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: $\overline{P} - \overline{\Theta}$: $[M(\acute{\eta}\tau\eta)]\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)[\tilde{\upsilon}]$.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+| $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{T}\overline{W}\overline{C}\overline{W}\overline{\Delta}\overline{H}$,| $\overline{K}\overline{H}\overline{P}\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{L}\overline{I}$ | $\overline{R}\overline{E}\overline{C}\overline{T}$, $\overline{T}\overline{W}$
| $\overline{\Phi}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\Omega}$
+ $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta(\omicron\eta)\theta(\epsilon\iota) \tau\tilde{\omega} \sigma\tilde{\omega} \delta\omicron\upsilon(\lambda\omega)$
Κουρσελί(ω) βέστ(η) τῷ Φράγ(γ)ο.
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Κουρσελίῳ βέστῃ
τῷ Φράγγῳ.
- 31** Oursel [of Bailleul], vestes, the Frank [1070–1075]
Private collection—D. 30 mm.
Cit. Solidus Numismatik, Monthly Auction 19, 23 September 2017, no. 868.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: $\overline{M}\overline{P} - \overline{\Theta}\overline{V}$: $M(\acute{\eta}\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}$.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+| $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{T}\overline{W}\overline{C}\overline{W}\overline{\Delta}\overline{H}$,| $\overline{K}\overline{H}\overline{P}\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{L}\overline{I}$ | $\overline{R}\overline{E}\overline{C}\overline{T}$, $\overline{T}\overline{W}$
| $\overline{\Phi}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\Omega}$
+ $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta(\omicron\eta)\theta(\epsilon\iota) \tau\tilde{\omega} \sigma\tilde{\omega} \delta\omicron\upsilon(\lambda\omega)$
Κουρσελί(ω) βέστ(η) τῷ Φράγ(γ)ο.
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Κουρσελίῳ βέστῃ
τῷ Φράγγῳ.
- 32** Oursel [of Bailleul], vestes, the Frank [1070–1075]
Private collection—D. 27 mm.
Cit. Demos Auctions, Auction 17, 17 March 2023, no. 919.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: $\overline{M}\overline{P} - \overline{\Theta}\overline{V}$: $M(\acute{\eta}\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}$.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+| $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{T}\overline{W}\overline{C}\overline{W}\overline{\Delta}\overline{H}$,| $\overline{K}\overline{H}\overline{P}\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{L}\overline{I}$ | $\overline{R}\overline{E}\overline{C}\overline{T}$, $\overline{T}\overline{W}$
| $\overline{\Phi}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\Omega}$
+ $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta(\omicron\eta)\theta(\epsilon\iota) \tau\tilde{\omega} \sigma\tilde{\omega} \delta\omicron\upsilon(\lambda\omega)$
Κουρσελί(ω) βέστ(η) τῷ Φράγ(γ)ο.
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Κουρσελίῳ βέστῃ
τῷ Φράγγῳ.
- 33** Oursel [of Bailleul], vestes, the Frank [1070–1075]
Private collection—D. unknown.
Cit. Numismatik Naumann, Auction 144, 1 September 2024, no. 977.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla at right: $\overline{P} - \overline{\Theta}$: $[M(\acute{\eta}\tau\eta)]\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\tilde{\upsilon}$.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+| $\overline{\Theta}\overline{\kappa}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\rho}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{T}\overline{W}\overline{C}\overline{W}\overline{\Delta}\overline{H}$,| $\overline{K}\overline{H}\overline{P}\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{L}\overline{I}$ | $\overline{R}\overline{E}\overline{C}\overline{T}$, $\overline{T}$,|
| $\overline{\Phi}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{\Omega}$
+ $\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta(\omicron\eta)\theta(\epsilon\iota) \tau\tilde{\omega} \sigma\tilde{\omega} [\delta\omicron\upsilon(\lambda\omega)]$
Κουρσε[λί](ω) βέστ(η) τ[ῷ] Φράγ(γ)ο.
Θεοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῶ δούλῳ Κουρσελίῳ βέστῃ
τῷ Φράγγῳ.

- 34 Oursel [of Bailleul], vestes, the Frank [1070–1075] (Fig. 5)
Private collection—D. 30 mm.
Cit. *Rex Numismatics*, E-Rex Auction 15, 7
December 2024, no. 802.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: $\overline{M}\overline{P}$ – $\overline{\Theta}\overline{V}$: $\overline{M}$ (ήτη)ρ $\overline{\Theta}$ (εο)ῦ.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
+| $\overline{\Theta}\overline{K}\overline{E}\overline{R}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{T}\overline{W}\overline{C}\overline{W}\overline{\Delta}\overline{H}$,| $\overline{K}\overline{H}\overline{P}\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{I}$ | $\overline{R}\overline{E}\overline{C}\overline{T}$, $\overline{T}\overline{W}$ |
 $\overline{\Phi}\overline{R}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{G}\overline{O}$
+ $\overline{\Theta}$ (εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) τῷ σῷ δού(λ)ω
Κουρσελί(ω) βέστ(η) τῷ Φράγγ(γ)ο.
 $\overline{\Theta}$ εοτόκε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Κουρσελίῳ βέστη
τῷ Φράγγῳ.
- 35 William, man of the protonobelissimos Menas [1070–1080]
Istanbul, Istanbul Archaeological Museums,
Ist. 657-194—D. 17 mm.
Cit. Cheynet, Gökylıdırım, and Bulgurlu,
Les sceaux byzantins, 471, no. 5.144; Cheynet,
“L’usage des sceaux,” 184.
Obv. Border of dots. Standing figure of Saint George, holding a lance in his right hand and a shield in his left hand.
Sigla at right: .. – $\overline{E}\overline{W}$ |.Γ, : [‘Ο (ἄ)γιος]
[Γ]εώ[ρ]γ(ιος).
Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of four lines.
+| $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{E}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\iota}\overline{\epsilon}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\mu}$.| $\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\nu}\overline{\tau}\overline{\eta}\overline{\mu}$.| $\overline{N}\overline{A}$, $\overline{\Lambda}\overline{N}\overline{O}\overline{R}$.| $\overline{\Lambda}\overline{I}\overline{C}$. $\overline{M}$.
+ $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{e}\overline{\lambda}\overline{i}\overline{e}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\mu}$ [ω] ἄν(θρῶπῳ) τοῦ $\overline{M}$ [η]νᾶ
πρωτονοβ[ε]λ(λ)ισ[τ]ι[μ]ο(υ)].
- 36 William, magistros, strategos of Seleucia, and man of the emperor [1070–1080]
Private collection—D. 21 mm.
Cit. W. Seibt and M. L. Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk: Katalog zur Ausstellung* (Vienna, 1997), 92–93, no. 2.3.2; Seibt, “Europäische Aristokraten auf byzantinischer Karriereleiter,” 88–89.
Obv. Border of dots. Standing figure of Saint George, holding a lance in his right hand and a shield in his left hand.
Sigla at right: .|. – $\overline{W}$ | $\overline{P}$ |Γ, : [‘Ο (ἄ)γιος]
[Γ(ε)]ώργ(ιος).
- Rev.* Border of dots. Inscription of seven lines.
+ $\overline{K}\overline{E}\overline{R}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{H}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{H}\overline{E}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{M}\overline{W}$ | $\overline{M}\overline{A}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{I}\overline{C}\overline{T}\overline{P}$, $\overline{C}\overline{T}\overline{P}\overline{A}$ |
 $\overline{T}\overline{I}\overline{\Gamma}$, $\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{E}\overline{V}\overline{K}$, $\overline{S}$ | $\overline{A}\overline{N}\overline{\omega}\overline{T}\overline{H}\overline{R}\overline{A}\overline{C}\overline{\iota}\overline{\Lambda}$,|
 $\overline{H}\overline{M}\overline{\omega}\overline{N}\overline{T}\overline{O}\overline{V}$ | $\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Gamma}$,
+ $\overline{K}$ (ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{h}\overline{\lambda}\overline{h}\overline{e}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\mu}$ μαγίστρ(ω)
στρατιγ(ῶ) Σελευκ(είας) (καί) ἄν(θρῶπ)ω
τοῦ βασιλ(έως) ἡμῶν τοῦ ἁγ(ίου).
Κύριε βοήθει $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{i}\overline{\lambda}\overline{i}\overline{e}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\mu}$ μαγίστρῳ στρατηγῷ
Σελευκείας καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν
τοῦ ἁγίου.
- 37 William, magistros, strategos of Seleucia, and man of the emperor [1070–1080] (Fig. 10)
Private collection—D. 21 mm.
Cit. *Leu Numismatik*, Web Auction 19, 28
February 2022, no. 3462.
Obv. Border of dots. Standing figure of Saint George, holding a lance in his right hand and a shield in his left hand.
Sigla: $\overline{\Theta}$ |Γ – $\overline{W}$ | $\overline{P}$ |Γ, : ‘Ο (ἄ)γιος $\overline{\Gamma}$ (ε)ώργ(ιος).
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of seven lines.
+ $\overline{K}\overline{E}\overline{R}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{H}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{H}\overline{E}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{M}\overline{W}$ | $\overline{M}\overline{A}\overline{\Gamma}\overline{I}\overline{C}\overline{T}\overline{P}$, $\overline{C}\overline{T}\overline{P}\overline{A}$ |
 $\overline{T}\overline{I}\overline{\Gamma}$, $\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{E}\overline{V}\overline{K}$, $\overline{S}$ | $\overline{A}\overline{N}\overline{\omega}\overline{T}\overline{H}\overline{R}\overline{A}\overline{C}\overline{\iota}\overline{\Lambda}$,|
 $\overline{H}\overline{M}\overline{\omega}$... $\overline{V}$ | $\overline{\Lambda}\overline{\Gamma}$,
+ $\overline{K}$ (ύρι)ε β(οή)θ(ει) $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{h}\overline{\lambda}\overline{h}\overline{e}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\mu}$ μαγίστρ(ω)
στρατιγ(ῶ) Σελευκ(είας) (καί) ἄν(θρῶπ)ω
τοῦ βασιλ(έως) ἡμῶν [ν τοῦ] ἁγ(ίου).
Κύριε βοήθει $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{i}\overline{\lambda}\overline{i}\overline{e}\overline{\lambda}\overline{\mu}$ μαγίστρῳ στρατηγῷ
Σελευκείας καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν
τοῦ ἁγίου.
- 38 Zacharia the Frank, vestarches and strategos of Seleucia [1070–1080]
Munich, Staatliche Münzsammlung, no. 218—
D. 27 mm.
Cit. Sopracasa and Prigent, “Sceaux byzantins de la collection Sopracasa,” 718–23, no. 20ter; Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 183–84.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: $\overline{M}\overline{P}$ – $\overline{\Theta}\overline{V}$: $\overline{M}$ (ήτη)ρ $\overline{\Theta}$ (εο)ῦ.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of seven lines.
+ $\overline{\Theta}\overline{K}\overline{E}\overline{R}$, $\overline{\Theta}$,| $\overline{S}\overline{A}\overline{X}\overline{A}\overline{P}\overline{I}\overline{A}$ | $\overline{R}\overline{E}\overline{C}\overline{T}\overline{A}\overline{P}\overline{X}\overline{H}$ | $\overline{S}\overline{C}\overline{T}\overline{P}\overline{A}\overline{T}\overline{I}\overline{\Gamma}$, $\overline{T}$ |
 $\overline{C}\overline{E}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{E}\overline{V}\overline{K}$, $\overline{A}\overline{C}$ | $\overline{T}\overline{W}\overline{\Phi}\overline{R}\overline{\Lambda}\overline{G}$ | $\overline{\Gamma}\overline{W}$
+ $\overline{\Theta}$ (εοτό)κε β(οή)θ(ει) Ζαχαρία βεστάρχη (καί)
στρατιγ(ῶ) τ(ῆς) Σελευκ(εί)ας τῷ Φράγγῳ.

- 39 Zacharia the Frank, vestarches and strategos of Seleucia [1070–1080]
Kofopoulos collection, no. 565—D. 27 mm.
Cit. Cheynet, *Les sceaux byzantins de la collection Kofopoulos*, 1:361, no. 3.190.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God orans, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: $\text{M}\bar{\text{P}} - \Theta\bar{\text{V}}$: $\text{M}(\eta\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\bar{\upsilon}$.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of seven lines.
 $+\Theta\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}},\Theta,|\Sigma\text{A}\chi\alpha\rho\iota\alpha|\text{R}\bar{\text{E}}\text{T}\alpha\rho\chi\eta|\text{S}\text{C}\text{T}\rho\alpha\tau\iota\gamma,\text{T}|\text{C}\bar{\text{E}}\lambda\epsilon\nu\kappa,\text{A}\text{C}|\text{T}\omega\Phi\rho\alpha\gamma|\Gamma\omega$
 $+\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta(\omicron\eta)\theta(\epsilon\iota) \text{Z}\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\iota\alpha \beta\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta (\kappa\alpha\iota) \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\iota\gamma(\bar{\omega}) \tau(\eta\varsigma) \Sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\nu\kappa(\epsilon\iota)\alpha\varsigma \tau\bar{\omega} \Phi\rho\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\omega.$
- 40 Berard of Rennes, protonobelissimos [1070–1100] (Fig. 16)
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, collection Zacos, no. 215—D. 20 mm.
Cit. Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 188.
Obv. Border of dots. Inscription of three lines.
 $+\text{RIP}|\text{A}\rho\Delta\text{T}\bar{\text{E}}|\text{P}\text{A}\text{I}\text{N}\bar{\text{E}}$
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of four lines.
 $\text{P}\rho\omicron\tau\omicron|\text{N}\omega\rho\epsilon\iota|\text{A}\eta\text{C}\text{I}\text{M}|\text{O}.$
 $+\text{B}\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta \tau\epsilon \text{P}\alpha\iota\text{ν}\epsilon \pi\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\omega\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{ι}\mu\omicron[\varsigma].$
 $\text{B}\iota\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\delta \tau\epsilon \text{P}\alpha\iota\text{ν}\epsilon \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu\omega\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{ι}\mu\omicron\varsigma.$
- 41 Ralph, son of Girard, servant of the holy emperor [1075–1100] (Fig. 17)
Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, BZS.1977.34.44—D. 18 mm.
Cit. Cheynet and Wassiliou-Seibt, “Adelige aus dem ‘Westen,’” 210.
Obv. Border of dots. Inscription of four lines.
 $+\text{P}\rho\alpha\omicron\nu|\text{A}\iota\omicron\text{C}\text{T}\bar{\text{H}}|\text{G}\text{I}\rho\alpha\rho\iota|\Psi$
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of four lines.
 $\Delta\text{H}\lambda\omicron\text{C}|\text{T}\bar{\text{H}}\rho\alpha\text{C}\text{I}|\text{A}\epsilon\omicron\text{C}\text{T}\bar{\text{H}}|\text{A}\Gamma\text{I}\bar{\text{H}}$
 $+\text{P}\rho\alpha\omicron\lambda (\nu)\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \text{G}\iota\rho\alpha\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \text{B}\alpha\varsigma\text{ι}\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon.$
- 42 Oursel [of Bailleul], proedros and stratopedarches [1077–1078]
Private collection—D. 26.5 mm.
Cit. Artemide Aste, Web Auction 22E, 25 April 2013, no. 404; Sopracasa and Prigent, “Sceaux byzantins de la collection Sopracasa,” 715–17, no. 20; Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 182.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of the Mother of God, facing, the medallion of Christ before her.
Sigla: $\text{M}\bar{\text{P}} - \Theta\bar{\text{V}}$: $\text{M}(\eta\tau\eta)\rho \Theta(\epsilon\omicron)\bar{\upsilon}$.
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of five lines.
 $+\Theta\bar{\text{K}}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}}\text{O}|\text{H}\bar{\Theta}\epsilon\text{I}\bar{\text{H}}\rho\text{C}\bar{\text{E}}|\text{A}\eta\text{P}\rho\omicron\epsilon\Delta\rho\omega|\text{S}\text{C}\text{T}\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\text{P}\epsilon|\Delta\text{A}\rho\chi\eta$
 $+\Theta(\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o})\kappa\epsilon \beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota \text{O}\bar{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}(\omega) \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\delta\rho\omega (\kappa\alpha\iota) \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\text{P}\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta.$
 $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\tau\acute{o}\kappa\epsilon \beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota \text{O}\bar{\upsilon}\rho\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega \pi\rho\omicron\epsilon\delta\rho\omega \kappa\alpha\iota \sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\text{P}\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\eta.$
- 43 Roger, son of Dagobert [1081–1108]
Private collection—D. 15 mm.
Cit. Jordanov, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals*, 2:395–97, no. 696, 3:666, no. 2052.
Obv. Indeterminate border. Bust of Saint Peter, facing, blessing with his right hand, holding a staff cross over his left shoulder.
Sigla at right: . — . $\text{T}\rho\omicron\text{C}$: [$\text{O} \acute{\alpha}(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma)$] [$\text{Π}(\acute{\epsilon})$] $\tau\rho\omicron\varsigma.$
Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of five lines.
 $+\text{K}\bar{\text{E}}\bar{\text{R}},\Theta,|\text{T}\omega\text{C}\omega\Delta\text{H}|\text{A}\omega\rho\omicron\gamma\epsilon\rho|\omega\text{T}\text{A}\text{K}\text{O}|\text{P}\epsilon\rho\tau\omega$
 $+\text{K}(\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota)\epsilon \beta(\omicron\eta)\theta(\epsilon\iota) \tau\bar{\omega} \sigma\bar{\omega} \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omega \text{P}\omicron\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\rho(\eta) [\tau]\bar{\omega} \text{T}\alpha\kappa\omicron\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\tau\omega.$
- 44 Guy [of Hauteville], protonobelissimos [1085–1108] (Fig. 4)
Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, BZS.1958.106.3446—D. 16 mm.
Cit. Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 187.
Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint George, facing, holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand.
Sigla: $\Theta|\Gamma|\bar{\text{E}} - \omega|\Gamma$: [$\text{O} \acute{\alpha}(\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma) \text{Γ}\epsilon\acute{\omega}(\rho)\gamma(\iota\omicron\varsigma).$
Rev. Border of dots. Inscription of three lines.
 $+\text{G}\text{I}\Delta\text{O}\text{N}|\text{A}\eta\text{N}\bar{\text{H}}\bar{\text{E}}|\text{A}\text{I}\text{C}\text{I}\text{M},$
 $+\text{Γ}\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu\omega\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{ι}\mu(\omicron\varsigma).$
 $\text{Γ}\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\nu \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu\omega\beta\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\text{ι}\mu\omicron\varsigma.$
- 45 Peter of Alife, protonobelissimos [1090–1110] (Fig. 6)
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, collection Zacos, no. 53—D. 21 mm.
Cit. Cheynet, “L’usage des sceaux,” 187.

Obv. Indeterminate border. Bust of Saint Demetrios, facing, holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand.

SIGLA: .|ΔΗ|ΜΙ – Τ|ΡΙ|Ο : [‘Ο (ἄγιος)]

Δημήτριος(ς).

‘Ο ἄγιος Δημήτριος.

Rev. Indeterminate border. Inscription of five lines.

.ΚΕΡΟ,|ΠΕΤΡΩ|ΤΟΑΛΙΦ|ΑΝΩΡΕ|Λ.ΣΙΜ

[+]Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ή)θει Πέτρω τὸ Ἀλίφ(α)

(πρωτο)νωβελ[ι]σίμ(ω).

Κύριε βοήθει Πέτρω τοῦ Ἀλίφα πρωτονωβελισίμω.

46 Bohemond [I of Hauteville] [1098–1111] (Fig. 19)

Private collection—D. 29 mm.

Cit. Leu Numismatik, Web Auction 28, 9 December 2023, no. 5263.

Obv. Border of dots. Bust of Saint Peter, facing, holding a staff cross over his left shoulder.

Sigla: Ο|ΠΕ – . : ‘Ο (ἄγιος) ΠΕ[Τ(ΡΟC)].

Rev. Indeterminate circles of dots. A cross, the spandrels of which contain sigla; fleurons rise on either side.

Sigla: ΙῚ – ΧῚ – ΝΙ – ΚΑ : Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς νικᾷ.

Circular inscription beginning at twelve o'clock:

+ΚΕΒΟΗΘΗΤΟC.ΔΟΝΛΟΡΑΗΜΟΝ

+Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθει τὸ σ[ὸ] δούλο Βαημόν(τη).

Κύριε βοήθει τῷ σῷ δούλῳ Βαιμόντη.